

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 04493 071933Z

73

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SAM-01 /065 W
----- 119656

R 071750Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3695

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

DIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 44930

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PO, NATO

SUBJ: CODEL RYAN (RYAN, LEO J) VISIT WITH ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO

1. I ACCOMPANIED CODEL RYAN ON CALL THIS MORNING ON ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO. PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF VISIT WAS TO ACQUAINT CODEL WITH PORTUGUESE VIEWS ON NATO.

2. IN ANSWER TO CONGRESSMAN RYAN'S QUESTION AS TO WHETHER PORTUGAL WOULD REALIGN ITSELF WITH THE EAST, ROSA COUTINHO MERCIFULLY SPARED US THE TRADITIONAL "GOP WILL KEEP ITS COMMITMENTS" LINE. HE SAID A PRINCIPAL GOAL OF THE REVOLUTION WAS TO SEEK NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. AFM DID NOT INTEND TO EXCHANGE MEMBERSHIP IN ONE BLOC, NATO, FOR MEMBERSHIP IN ANOTHER, THE WARSAW PACT. PORTUGAL WAS PART OF WESTERN EUROPE. ITS TRADE WITH THE EASTERN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 04493 071933Z

COUNTRIES AMOUNTED TO ONLY 2 PER CENT, AND THEIR MOST

OPTIMISTIC PROJECTIONS INDICATED THAT THIS TRADE COULD ONLY BE INCREASED OVER A PERIOD OF TIME TO 20 PER CENT. ROSA COUTINHO REEMPHASIZED THAT THIS WAS AN OPTIMISTIC FIGURE. WHILE THERE WERE SOME IN AFM WHO MIGHT DISAGREE, PORTUGAL RECOGNIZED THAT AS PART OF WESTERN EUROPE IT MUST REMAIN IN NATO.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, ROSA COUTINHO SAID, NATO ITSELF MUST CHANGE. IT CANNOT BE THE SAME ORGANIZATION IT WAS WHEN IT WAS FOUNDED. NEW CONDITIONS EXIST IN EUROPE AND NATO MUST BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO MEET THEM. BY THIS HE MEANT THAT LESS EMPHASIS HAD TO BE PLACED ON MILITARY ASPECTS AND MORE ON BRINGING THE TWO BLOCS TOGETHER.

4. I SAID I DETECTED A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN USG AND GOP. WHILE WE MIGHT BE IN AN ERA OF DETENTE, I STILL FELT THAT A TIME MIGHT COME WHEN THE SOVIETS WOULD RESORT AGAIN TO NAKED MILITARY AGGRESSION. THEN NATO HAD TO BE READY TO DEAL WITH MILITARY ACTION. CONGRESSMAN RYAN AGREED.

5. ROSA COUTINHO RESPONDED THAT GOP DID NOT BELIEVE MILITARY AGGRESSION WAS A THREAT, CERTAINLY NOT TO PORTUGAL. THEIR VIEW WAS THAT BOTH NATO AND WARSAW PACT SHOULD GRADUALLY REDUCE THEIR MILITARY STRENGTH. WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT ONE OF THE REASONS FOR DETENTE WAS THE STRENGTH OF NATO, ROSA COUTINHO AGREED, BUT CONTINUED TO FEEL THAT MILITARY THREAT HAD EVAPORATED AND THAT NATO MUST CHANGE ITS CHARACTER.

6. WE RECEIVED ESSENTIALLY THE SAME ANSWER -- NATO MUST ADAPT -- WHEN I POINTED OUT TO ROSA COUTINHO THE INCONSISTENCY OF COMMUNISTS IN SIGNIFICANT POSITIONS IN A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS PART OF A DEFENSIVE ANTI-COMMUNIST ALLIANCE. ROSA COUTINHO SAID HE THOUGHT WE WOULD SOON HAVE TO FACE A SIMILAR CONDITION IN ITALY. WE WOULD HAVE TO LEARN TO LIVE WITH COMMUNISTS IN NATO GOVERNMENTS.

7. BOTH CONGRESSMAN RYAN AND I POINTED OUT THAT IN ADDITION TO THE INCONSISTENCY OF THIS THERE WERE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 04493 071933Z

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH ACCEPTED ELECTIONS, AND PCP WHICH DID NOT. WHEN ROSA COUTINHO SAID CUNHAL HAD PUBLICLY SUPPORTED ELECTIONS I ASKED HIM IF HE THOUGHT CUNHAL WOULD NOW AGREE TO ELECTIONS FOR A PARLIAMENT AND FOR MUNICIPAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS. HE SMILED AND SAID I COULD ASK HIM, BUT HE DOUBTED CUNHAL WOULD BE VERY ENTHUSIASTIC.

8. ROSA COUTINHO STRESSED TO US THAT PORTUGAL HAD TO FIND ITS OWN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. GOP HAD WATCHED ITALY AND DID NOT WANT TO FOLLOW THEIR EXAMPLE. NOR DID THEY FEEL THAT ANGLO-SAXON FORMS OF GOVERNMENT WERE RIGHT FOR A LATIN PEOPLE. BUT, HE STRESSED, "PORTUGAL WILL NOT BECOME A COMMUNIST COUNTRY." CONTRARY TO THE POPULAR IMPRESSION PCP DOES NOT ALWAYS GET ITS WAY HERE. ACCORDING TO ROSA COUTINHO, PCP WAS UNHAPPY WITH AFM PLAN TO SET UP NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS AND WORKERS COMMISSIONS. COMMENT: THIS MAY BE BECAUSE AFM ASSEMBLY MADE CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO DISASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM COMMUNIST-MANIPULATED CDRS.

9. ROSA COUTINHO ADMITTED THAT CONTINUED GOVERNMENTAL CRISES WERE CAUSING SERIOUS PROBLEMS. NEVERTHELESS INSTABILITY WOULD CONTINUE. PORTUGAL IS IN A REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS AND IT WILL TAKE SOME TIME FOR IT TO FIND ITS OWN PATH TO DEMOCRACY. WE SAID U.S. RECOGNIZED THIS AND WOULD TRY TO BE UNDERSTANDING AS LONG AS IT WAS CLEAR THAT PORTUGUESE PEOPLE WOULD BE ABLE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND THEIR OWN LEADERS. CONGRESSMAN RYAN STRESSED THIS POINT BY SAYING THAT PORTUGAL "COULDN'T BE DIFFERENT THAN EVERYONE ELSE ON THE BLOCK."

10. COMMENT: AFTER THE MEETING CONGRESSMAN RYAN COMMENTED ON ROSA COUTINHO'S INTELLIGENCE AND SHREWDNESS. ROSA COUTINHO STRUCK HIM AS A POTENTIAL STRONGMAN WHO MAY FEEL THAT NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO MAKE HIS MOVE. I FIND THIS OBSERVATION A GOOD ONE. ROSA COUTINHO HAS LOST SOME PRESTIGE AS A RESULT OF EVENTS IN ANGOLA AND ISN'T QUITE THE POWER HE USED TO BE. HE HAS KEPT A LOW PROFILE DURING CURRENT CRISIS, ALTHOUGH WE UNDERSTAND HE HAS GENERALLY SUPPORTED VASCO GONCALVES. BUT HE IS STILL PERSONALLY AMBITIOUS AND ABLE. HE IS ALSO FAR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LISBON 04493 071933Z

ENOUGH TO THE LEFT TO BE A MAN WHO MIGHT SOMEDAY BE JUST THE ONE TO RESOLVE A POLITICAL IMPASSE.
CARLUCCI

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: VISITS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: RowellE0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975LISBON04493
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750273-0761
From: LISBON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750874/aaaacnfo.tel
Line Count: 157
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: RowellE0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <03 OCT 2003 by RowellE0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL RYAN (RYAN, LEO J) VISIT WITH ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO
TAGS: PINT, PORG, PO, NATO, (RYAN, LEO J), (COUTINHO, ROSA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006